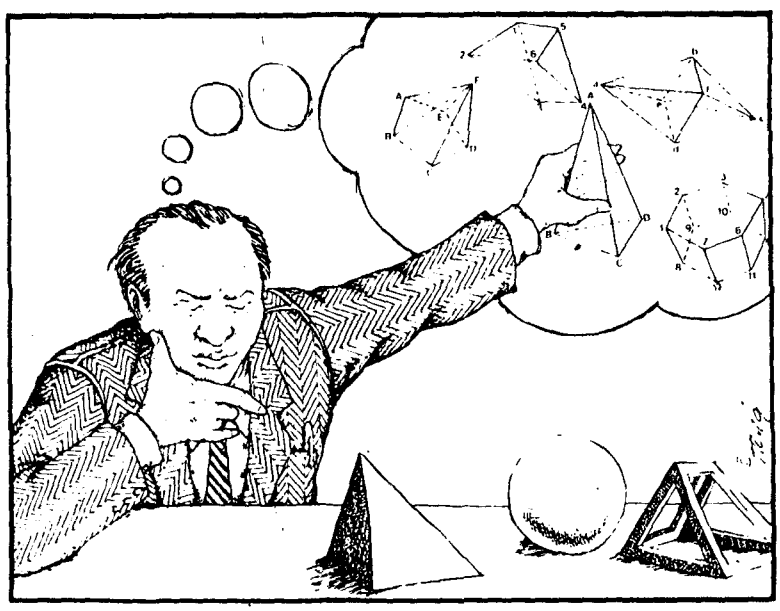
#251
NOVEMBER 1985

The Progressive Review

THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS INDUSTRY

What about Alex Odeh?

Pass me a mentor, please



Women & Pornography

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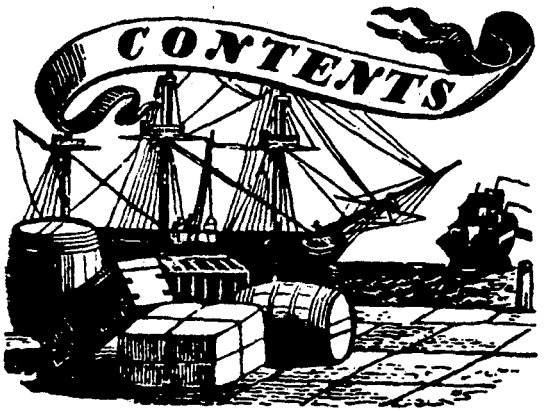

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German Greens join coalition

The Green Party has agreed to join in a ruling coalition with the Social Democrats in West Germany's fifth largest state, Hesse. The Greens will control the energy and environmental ministry and receive a junior post in women's affairs.

How the deficit would be cut

An analysis by the US News & World Report found that, under the Senate-passed deficit-reduction proposal, forced spending cuts would come from just 27% of the budget or around $263 billion. Big-ticket items such as social security, interest on the debt and pre-approved military procurement would be exempt. Says USN&WR, "Half of those cuts would come from capping cost-of-living increases in federal pensions, railroad retirement and veterans benefits, food stamps and medicare. The rest would come from 'discretionary spending' on such things as foreign aid, medical and space research, education, transportation, housing and justice."

The public and the tax plan

Although Reagan can point to at least a plurality of support for his tax-change plans, the support disappears when pollsters ask about key elements. For example, at least three national polls find over half of Americans opposed to eliminating deductions for state and local taxes and overwhelming opposition to taxing a portion of fringe benefits.

Wreckers shifting their trade

Years of efforts by urban progressives to prevent local politicians and developers from destroying their cities may be paying off. The Washington Post reports that the Wrecking Corporation of America, a locally-based wrecking company, is now spending most its time in renovation rather than destruction projects. Says Michael P. Amann, president of WCA, "All of a sudden, about four years ago, the business went from one of knocking buildings down to saving buildings. Adds Sheldon Nasar, president of Demolition of DC, "If we had to live strictly by

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conventional demolition —knocking a building down and hauling it away — we'd starve. The big-building demolition work has basically disappeared. Most of the work now is in the renovation field."

Alternative sentencing

A woman convicted of insurance fraud in Brooklyn has been sentenced to two years house arrest. Federal judge Jack B. Weinstein took the action on the grounds that prison would not rehabilitate the woman and because some alternatives were needed to halt the burgeoning prison population. House arrest has been used in some state cases but rarely in the federal courts.

The price of aid cuts

New evidence suggests that reducing aid to pregnant women could cost more money than it saves. Wayne Schramm at the Missouri Division of Health in Jefferson City reports that women who receive special supplements for pre-natal nutrition wind up giving birth to bigger, healthier infants. And since stronger babies need less medical care, each dollar spent on nutritional aid can actually save 83 cents in tax-funded medicaid costs — all in the baby's first month.

South Africa and Nicaragua

Writing in **Mother Jones**, journalist Adam Hochschild notes the difference between the large public turnouts for demonstrations against South Africa and much smaller protests against US policy in Central America. Why? "The grim answer," he writes, is that "Americans can afford to protest about South Africa because South Africa as a moral target is overwhelmingly safe. . . .Americans are more comfortable getting outraged about discrimination between blacks and whites than they are about discrimination between rich and poor, which is what the problem is in Latin America."

Central America is surely more complex that South Africa, says Hochschild, "but we can't ignore those wars. . . .By all means, let's keep up the heat on South Africa. But let's apply the same passion to stopping the bloodshed being perpetrated in our name, with our tax money and much closer to home."

PIRG funding hit

In a decision that could change the way student groups nationwide are funded, a federal appeals court has ruled that Rutgers can no longer use a "negative check-off" system to fund its Public Interest Group. Under the system, Rutgers students paid a $3.50 fee to the PIRG chapter unless they checked a box on their registration forms indicting they wanted to withhold the money. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the PIRG was a political and not an educational group; as a result, the PIRG infringes on the

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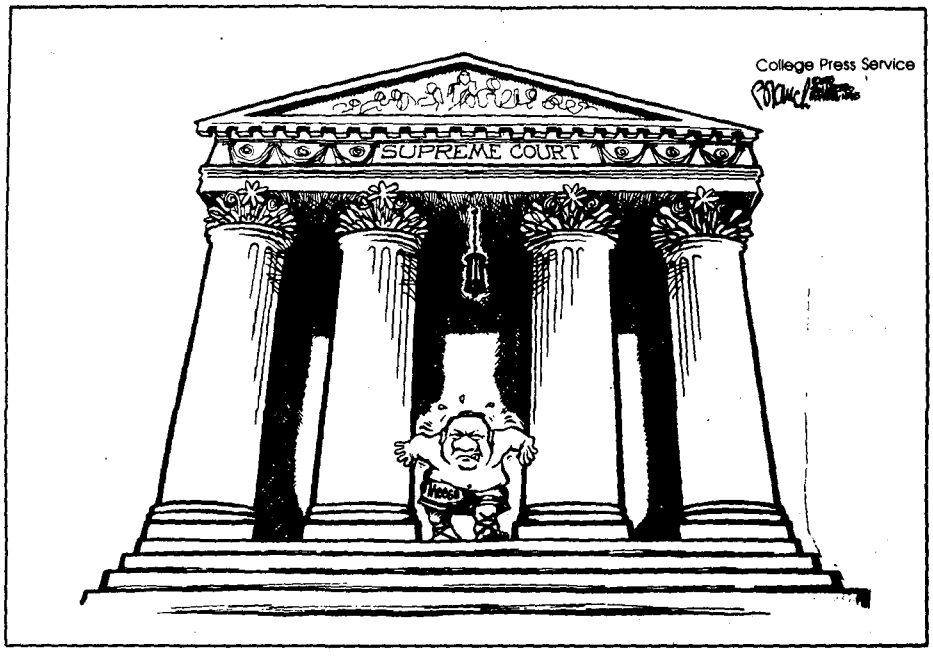

First Amendment rights of students who don't agree with its positions, but who, by Rutgers' order, must pay fees to it. PIRG lawyers say they will appeal. The Rutgers case was part of a national effort by conservative and Republican groups to overturn PIRG funding on college campuses. —CPS

Gun-makers liable in Maryland

In what could prove to be a major blow against the gun lobby, Maryland's highest court has ruled that makers and sellers of Saturday Night Specials can be held liable for injuries caused by those guns. The decision was unanimous and it is expected to end the sale of the weapons in the state. The court said that "the manufacturers or marketers of a Saturday Night Special know or ought to know that he is making or selling a product principally to be used in criminal activity."

A new look at Hiroshima

An Ohio State University historian has suggested that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II could have been avoided by more flexible U.S. diplomacy, possibly even preventing the bloody Korean War.

According to James Bartholomew, associate professor of history, in July 1945, the Japanese War Council voted 4-3 to accept an "unconditional surrender" with only the condition that they be allowed to keep Emperor Hirohito as their leader. U.S. diplomats rejected the offer, saying the U.S. would only agree to a truly unconditional surrender. After the bombs were dropped August 6 and 9, the Japanese agreed to the unconditional surrender August 14. Then, *after* the war was over, the U.S. *did* permit the Emperor to retain his position.

Batholomew noted that the delay in ending the war was costly because the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan August 8. This move allowed the Soviets to enter Manchuria and "pick it clean" and also to occupy the northern half of Korea, with U.S. approval. Bartholomew added that the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the war may have had as much influence on Japan's surrender as the atomic bombings. —*Steve Molk, Columbus Free Press*

Office automation killing jobs

Office automation isn't easing the burden of clerical workers—it's eliminating their jobs.

That's the conclusion of a new survey recently released by Nine to Five, the national association of working women.

According to the survey, clerical jobs once increased faster than the national rate of employment growth, in keeping with the theory that the United States was shifting from a manufacturing to a ser-

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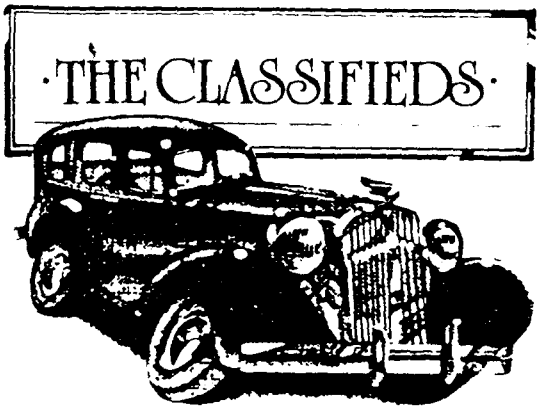

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THROUGH A NEW ART FORM Artist Roger Henry has discovered the physical existence of the human soul, when applied to the message of Jesus it causes physical manifestation. 2252 Westchester Ave. Bronx, New York 10462. Because this discovery sounds too impossible it is being blocked. #251

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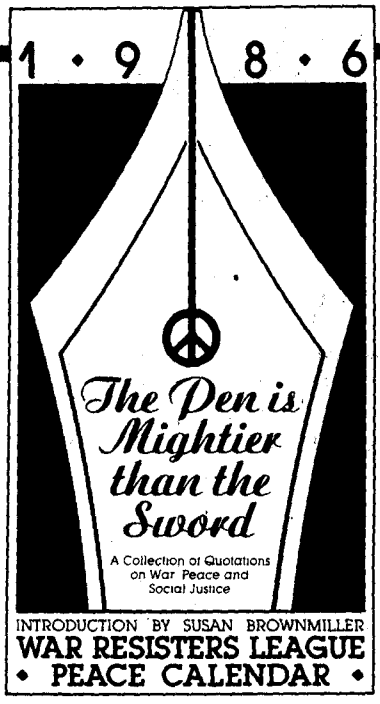
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The Pen is Mightier than the Sword
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INTRODUCTION BY SUSAN BROWNMILLER
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vice economy. However, since 1980, the growth rate for clerical jobs has slowed, so that now clerical work is expanding two percent less than the national rate for employment overall.

Also, found the survey, clerical wages haven't kept pace with inflation. Between 1983 and 1984 wages for clerical workers shrank by 1.5%, when adjusting for inflation, while wages for women professionals rose by 4.3%. The number of jobs available for typists, stenographers and secretaries has declined by 100,000 since 1980.

The survey, titled "Hidden Victims: Clerical Work, Automation and the Changing Economy," is available from 9 to 5 at 37 Temple Place, Boston, MA 02111, (617) 451-9111.

Decline of women's banks

The demand for banks that cater strongly to women has declined. Down from a peak of nine women's banks in 1980 to only five today, the banks' difficulties may have resulted because of equal credit legislation, or simply because men also need many of the services once exclusively offered to women.

Women's banks are now seeking male customers to attract a broader customer base. Says the president of the First National Women's bank in Manhattan, "We don't discriminate against anybody."

Fans of affirmative action

The Reagan administration, which was reportedly planning to lift most federal rules on affirmative action for government contractors, is backing off that proposal – because the employers want to keep those rules.

The old version, floated last month, would have ended rules that forced companies to increase their employment of women and minorities through goals and timetables. It would also have cut the support for any companies that wanted to use those timetables on their own.

The new version explicitly allows goals and timetables, though it would end the requirement to use them. The Labor Department would still be prohibited from using statistical evidence to measure contractors' compliance with anti-discrimination laws.

Many chief executives of large American companies say that they'll continue affirmative action goals and timetables no matter what the Reagan administration does. They claim that numerical measures track their hiring process best, and that those

(Please turn to page 34)

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WHAT ABOUT ALEX ODEH?

Norman Solomon

(Norman Solomon is disarmament director for the National Fellowship of Reconciliation and co-author of **Killing Our Own**, a book on atomic radiation.)

Leon Klinghoffer has been mourned and eulogized across the United States. But what about Alex Odeh? Three days after Klinghoffer was killed aboard the cruise ship hijacked by Palestinian terrorists, a bomb went off at the Souther California headquarters of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Regional director Alex Odeh died in surgery hours later.

With massive publicity enshrining Klinghoffer as a hero, his family has received outpourings of sympathy, including personal phone calls from the president. But Odeh -- another American citizen whose family grieves in the wake of violent hatred — drew sparse media attention and perfunctory condolences from the White House.

Yet the killing of Alex Odeh in Santa Ana, Ca., is as much a tragedy as anything else that has happened these past weeks.

Predictably, the leadership of the Jewish Defense League has been upbeat about the bombing that killed Odeh. JDL chairman Irv Rubin declared: "The person or persons responsible for the bombing deserves our praise for striking out against the murderers of Americans and Jews."

Meanwhile, the White House said that it "deeply deplores this tragic event an condemns in the strongest possible terms the criminal use of violence and terrorism to achieve political ends."

Officials of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith issued similar statements. But such regrets have a hollow ring.

Israel routinely uses deadly violence "to achieve political ends." On October 1, for instance, American-built F-15s bombed an undefended headquarters of the PLO near Tunis — killing more than 60 Palestinians and Tunisians. President Reagan immediately expressed support for the Israeli air attack.

For nearly 20 years Israel's occupation of the West Bank has rendered many thousands of Palestinians homeless, often brutalizing them in the process.

Out of desperation and anger, some Palestinians have turned to violence and even terrorism. It is a dynamic that Israeli officials should well understand.

Waging a campaign for a Jewish homeland four decades ago in Palestine, some Zionist groups engaged in bloody actions that were, indeed, terrorism.

Israel's current reliance on military force, egged on by the US government, does nothing for my relatives and other Jews who perished in Nazi death camps.

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Nor does Israeli militarism make any Jews secure for the future.

In the long run, justice as well as mutual security require the recognition of an essential truth: if Jews deserve a homeland in Palestine, then so do Palestinians.

In 1985, if we are to really challenge "terrorism," we must acknowledge that it comes not only out of the barrel of some Palestinian guns. It also comes from the kind of high tech weaponry used by Israel in Beirut, or from the Phalangist forces backed by Israel in Lebanon, or from the Israeli miliary jets on bombing runs financed by the United States. Or from a bomb planted in an American-Arab office in Southern California.

Such cycles of violence continue because retribution to one side is provocation to the other. For the gruesome pattern to end, dialogue must take place. And that's where people like Alex Odeh come in.

I never met Odeh. But in recent years I have spoken with a number of other officials of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. I found them without exception to be gentle and sincere people, eager to help find a way out of the thicket of hostility and stereotyping in which both Arabs and Jews are entangled.

Like other Anti-Discrimination Committee officials, Alex Odeh lived the past few months knowing that his life was on the line. Phone threats were common. In August a bomb went of at the committee's office in Boston, severely maiming a policeman who tried to defuse it.

We don't hear much from the mass media about such events, perhaps because they disrupt the prevailing stereotypes about terrorism, Arabs and hatred.

After Alex Odeh died, public understanding of his group was further muddled when the Associated Press national news wire carried an article presenting the organization's name as the Anti-American Anti-Discrimination Committee." By the time AP sent out a correction three hours later, it was too late to prevent many Sunday newspapers from publishing the incorrect name.

With the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians spilling over into the United States we cannot avoid its implications here at home. Mutual comprehension is essential. Instead, the mass media and politicians are eagerly exploiting — and worsening — anti-Arab prejudices.

So I mourn Alex Odeh. And I am appalled by American society's refusal to give that death its due. Until we learn not to place one life above another, we will all be captives on an escalating, murderous spiral that can never be forced down by military might. — (C)PNS

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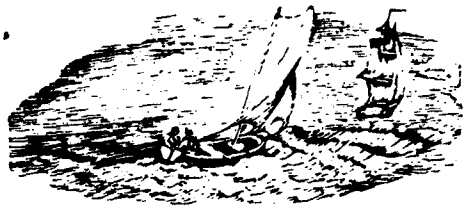
TOPICS

Sam Smith



The Ultimate Mugger

The standard cliche about Ronald Reagan pictures him as a cowboy, an image which I have long felt was rather unfair to cowboys, who generally lived in peace with their neighbors, improved the economy, understood the importance of cooperation and only in the exception (primarily in movies) went around killing people. Ronald Reagan is, in fact, the last sort of person you'd want helping you on the range: a foolhardy egocentric know-it-all makes a dangerous partner when work is more difficult than glamorous and where skill outranks showmanship. The sort of mindless bravado which is a hallmark of the man was more typical of some of the famed outlaws than of the ordinary cowherder.

In truth, however, the west may not be the best place to look for metaphors suitable to the Great Prevaricator. Reagan is, after all, only a studio lot westerner engulfed in fantasies. The pre-industrial westerner, on the other hand, had little time for phantasmagora. When nature reigns, illusion can be a fatal luxury.

But come to the modern streets of any eastern city and you will find a role model for our president: someone who shares his megalomania, his sociopathic approach to the weak and defenseless, his conscienceless willingness to warp reality into a self-serving illusion, his thrill at hurting and his lack of remorse. You may find him tonight: your typical urban mugger.

This, in political terms, what Reagan is really about: mugging.

Consider the most recent example: the graceless matter of the Italian ship hijacking. A normal politician would have spared a few moments to thank profusely the Italians and the Egyptians for what was clearly the most worthy aspect of this affair: namely the safe release of all but one of the American captives. But not Ronald Reagan. Within hours he had mugged both the Italians and Egyptians, violated international law with military action against an unarmed plane of another country, precipitated a severe political crisis in two countries said to be our allies, and dramatically set back efforts to establish some sort of peace in the Middle East. And for what? Primarily for his political self-aggrandisement and for shoring up his insatiable need for a feeling of superiority.

This self-centered recklessness about the consequences of one's acts to others is a major obstacle in attempts to rehabilitate criminals. It reflects a severe disorientation about one's relationship to the world, a disorientation Reagan curiously shares

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with his would-be assassin, John Hinckley, and with the guerillas he forced into the hands of the Italians. Hinckley is in St. Elizabeths, the PLF guerillas are in jail, but Reagan is in the White House, his fantasies not only in tact, but buttressed by an incredibly fawning press.

Reagan, however, is not genuinely crazy nor is he maddened by zealotry. Like the urban mugger, he drifts easily from the real to the imagined. And, as with the urban mugger, the real is strong enough to make him choose his targets carefully. For the same reason that little old ladies get mugged and John Riggins doesn't, Reagan politically mugs the weak and leaves the strong alone. Thus the steelworkers in Pennsylvania get mugged while the head of the Teamsters comes to dinner at the White House. The poor, the minorities, the students, and the elderly get mugged in his domestic budget while defense contractors pass with nary a hostile glance. The politically potent Sunbelt is aided while the northeast is mugged. And in foreign affairs, Grenada, Nicaragua, Italy and Egypt get mugged while the Chinese are treated so well we've almost forgotten that they were once, according to Reagan and Co., godless aethistic communists.

There is in all this an underlying cowardice. One of the prime characteristics of the Reagan personality is the chasm between what he says and what he does. While Reagan loves to talk like a fearless man, he has displayed little courage in his political life. Observers have noted that as far back as his California governorship, given a really difficult situation, Reagan will compromise his way out of it rather than be right on his terms and clearly lose. His courage is of the urban muggers' punk variety. He needs a steady easy victims to prove his virility. Egypt and Italy shouldn't feel too badly. They were just walking down the wrong street at the wrong time.

●

A terrorist by any other name...

Elsewhere in this issue, Norman Solomon discusses the inconsistencies in the reaction to the death of Leon Klinghoffer and the death of Alex Odeh. If the public did not realize that the latter was made out of the same cloth as the former, it is not surprising. Geoffrey Stokes, in the Village Voice, checked news coverage of Odeh's death and found the following:

New York Daily News: two paragraphs in a national news roundup on page 8

New York Times: page 5

New York Post: page 4, with photo and headline "PLO support, 7 Arabs Injured in Cal. Bomb Blast" (The "Arabs" were also, incidentally, American citizens)

Washington Post: page 27 ("though an excellent day two story.")

Time: six lines towards end of cover story.

Newsweek: nothing.

Deliberate debt

One of the questions behind the incredible deficit piled up by the Reagan administration is not getting anywhere near the attention it should: namely, was the deficit deliberate? Did Reagan create the deficit in order to make it impossible to fund programs he did not want anyway?

Among the few to have raised this speculation — surely, if true, grounds for impeachment, was Tom Wicker in a New York Times column last summer. Wicker cited Patrick Moynihan as having said that David Stockman had told him in 1981 that Reagan knew the tax cuts would mean loss of revenue, but that the president had accepted the deficit in order to pressure Congress to cut spending. Moynihan says that Stockman had told him "the plan was to have a strategic deficit that would give you an argument for cutting back the programs that weren't desired. It got out of hand."

Wicker wrote that Stockman denied "any such conversation" but not the substance of the allegation.

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Wicker further quotes a 1985 interview in the magazine Profile 13 with Friedrich von Hayek, an economist whose views have influenced Reagan and Thatcher. In it von Hayek says of the country's financial situation, "You see, one of Reagan's advisers told me why the president has permitted that to happen, which makes the matter partly excusable: Reagan thinks it is impossible to persuade Congress that expenditures must be reduced unless one creates deficits so large that absolutely everyone becomes convinced that no more money can be spent. (Reagan) hopes to persuade Congress of the necessity of spending reductions by means of an immense deficit."

Coinciding pleasures

I've left a final word about E.B. White to another fine writer, Charlie McDowell. But, in the procession of eulogies that followed his passing, I found one White quote that sums up nicely what the editorial policy of this publication has been for nigh on twenty years. Describing how the New Yorker and its writers functioned, White said, "We write as we please and the magazine published as it pleases. When the two pleasures coincide, something gets into print."

What's God's trade policy?

If you've had trouble reaching the Almighty lately, please hang up and try again later. God not only is tied up advising Pat Robertson on whether he should run for president but apparently finds time for urban questions as well. In remarks a few months back in a church in Philadelphia, Mayor Wilson Goode reported:

"I am going to be your mayor for the next 2 1/2 years, and then I'm going to run again. And I'm basically saying to all of you. . . .that there's nothing that they can do to mess with that, because that's God's plan. And I want all of you to understand something very clearly and that is I would not be here if I did not believe that I'm doing what God wants me to do. I would not be your mayor if I did not believe that a long time before I was born, God ordained at a given point in time that I would be mayor."

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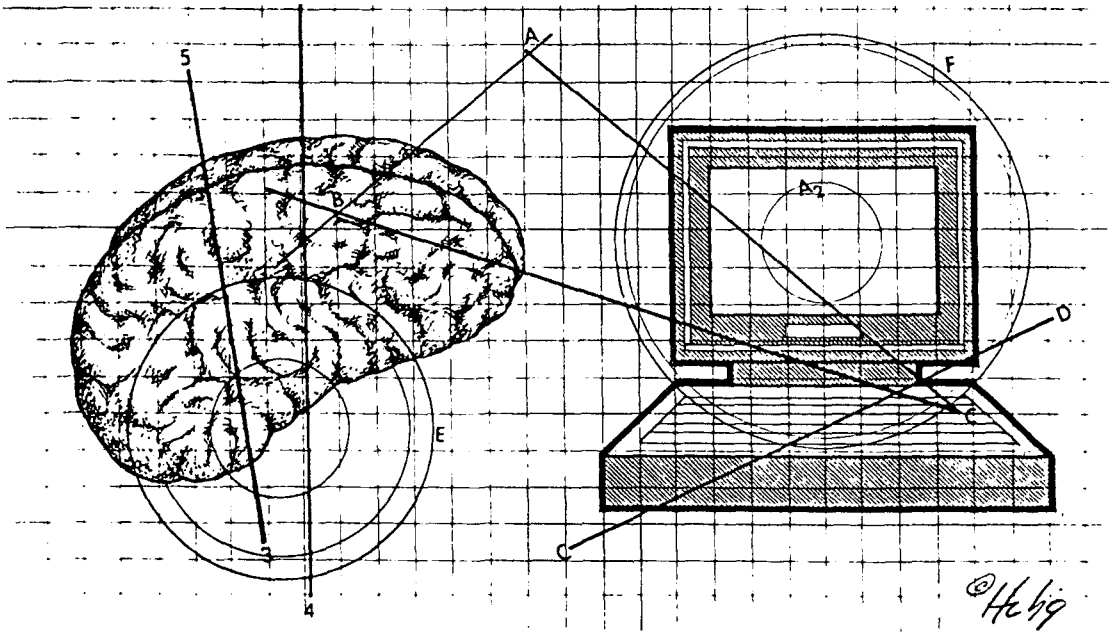
As for myself, I believe that at a certain point in time God ordained that I end this column, so I'll see you next month with further reports on the ebb and flow of his blessings.



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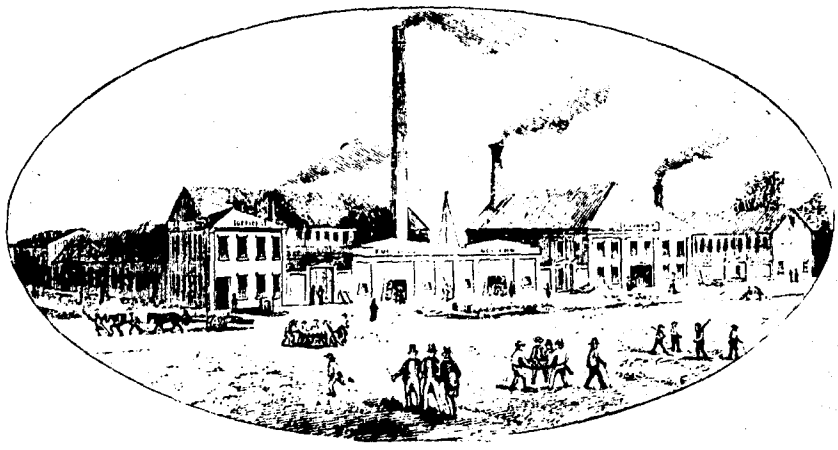

THE IDEA MILL

A new Jewish foundation has been established to contribute to non-sectarian causes. The director of the Jewish Fund for Justice, Lois Roisman, told the New York Times that "Jewish individuals are among the most generous in American society but the time has come for a national Jewish grantmaking institution that presents a visible Jewish moral and religious presence in support of social and economic justice." Among early recipients of funds have been Navahos in Arizona, homeless blacks in Boston and Mexican-Americans in Colorado.

Nuclear Free America has compiled a list of the consumer brand names of the top 50 nuclear weapons contractors. Write NFA, 2521 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218.

Star Wars is becoming a hot issue on a number of university campuses because of the potential involvement by schools in research for the project. One consortium is already involved. Meanwhile a group of physicists at Cornell and Illinois are circulating a petition that declares that "as working scientists and engineers, we pledge neither to solicit nor accept SDI funds, and encourage others to join in this refusa;." Copies of the petition are available from Lisbeth Grolund, Dept. of Physics, Clark Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853

The National Un-Registration Campaign is distribution "un-registration" cards that look like Selective Service cards but ask that the signer be removed from the registration rolls. The card is described as a safe, legal way to express opposition to the draft and registration. Info: Send a SSAE to CARD Midwest, 731 State Street, Madison, WI 53703.

SANE has produced a new flyer, *No More Vietnams—Keep U.S. Troops Out of Central America*, aimed at reaching new audiences. Includes a map of the region, public opinion poll data, quotes from U.S. military officials, tax dollars spent and answers to frequently asked questions. Order from SANE @ 15 cents each, $8/100, $20/500 (including postage). 711 G St. SE, DC 20003.

The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists'* **40th Anniversary Issue** commemorates the birth of the nuclear

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weapons age. This special 172-page issue is perhaps the most comprehensive work on the arms race available today. Retrospective articles shed new light on the atomic bomb project, Truman's decision to use the bomb on Japan, and early efforts for international control of nuclear energy. Other articles look at the U.S. and Soviet role in the arms race, popular imagery of the atom, and the lessons of the past 40 years. Among the prominent authors are Manhattan Project scientists.

Send a check for $5.00 to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 5801 S. Kenwood, Chicago, Illinois 60637. Prepaid orders only.

Common Cause has prepared a new booklet, *Star Wars: Questions and Answers on the Space Weapons Debate*, which explains what the Strategic Defense Initiative is, what it would cost and the implications for arms control. To order the 36-page booklet, send $1 to Common Cause Guides, 2030 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

The Association of Black Women in Higher Education is calling for papers and program and workshop ideas for its upcoming conference, "Black Professional Women: Empowering the Community."

The eighth annual conference will be held in New York City on May 2nd. For more information contact the group's opportunities program at New York University, 547 LaGuardia Place, New York, NY 10012.

A peace tax fund bill has been introduced by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R, OR) and four cosponsors and by Representatives James Oberstar (D, MN) and Tom Tauke (R, IA), with the 46 cosponsors in the House. The bill establishes a fund into which a certified conscientious objector could designate that percentage of his or her federal taxes which would otherwise go into the current military budget. This fund would be governed by a board which would use the monies for various peace-enhancing projects.

The U.S. Peace Tax Fund would not reduce an individual's tax liability, but would provide an option for those who currently must either violate their beliefs and pay taxes to support war or who withhold taxes from the government and risk prosecution by the IRS.

The fund would be managed by a board of trustees appointed by the President and the Congress, and would help support the following kinds of activities: retraining of workers displaced by conversion from military production; disarmament efforts; international exchanges for peaceful purposes; research and study directed toward developing and evaluating non-military and non-violent solutions to international conflict, including selected projects of the U.S. Peace Institute; improvement of international health, education, and welfare; and programs for providing public information and education.

Interested persons can obtain additional information from the National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund, 2121 Decatur Pl. NW, DC 20008, (202) 483-3751.

The Americans for Democratic Action Education Fund, Inc. has created the Allard K. Lowenstein

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THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS INDUSTRY

RODERICK S. FRENCH

Roderick French is vice president for academic affairs at the George Washington University. The following is adapted from a fall convocation address French delivered at the university in September.

A small industry has sprung up in recent years the product of which has been a series of reports on what's wrong with education in America, accompanied by recommendations for what ought to be done to rescue this endangered enterprise. The first alarm in this latest cycle of critiques of education happened to be sounded on my campus, George Washington University. The then Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell, held a press conference to release to the public a report with the sensational title: *A Nation at Risk*. The National Commission on Excellence which prepared the report warned us that a "rising tide of mediocrity" in American education threatened the very future of the republic—not to mention our competitive advantage vis-a-vis Japanese industry!

From that moment onward, there has been no shortage of doctors to diagnose our diseases. No matter which medium you read or watch, you have to know that the schools and colleges in this country have allegedly "fallen on evil times."

I might well have let this stream of reports pile up on my shelves except that a friend sent me a publisher's collection of them with the request that I review the volume for his journal. I won't say that I read them all, certainly not that I studied them — One of the benefits of an advanced education is the ability to skim redundant documents without a sense of guilt.

To those of you who have put off reading these reports because you suspect that you have heard it all before, let me say that you are fundamentally right but that there are differences between this generation of literature and its analogs in previous cycles of criticism. I will mention only on striking contrast. In the 1960s, universities often were criticized for failing the *individual* student in his or her needs for self-realization whle serving the needs of a reactionary socio-political "establishment." Today's critics—most of whom are faceless commissions rather than eloquent individual reformers—stress the *social* failure of schools and colleges. They have a lot to say about the personnel needs for high national productivity and relatively little to say about the personal needs of students for rich and satisfying lives.

If one looks to these reports for an explanation of how we have come to be in such a sorry state, the answers, with a few notable exceptions, are distressingly unanimous and simplistic. The causes are usually said to be:

1st: Bad Teachers	—portrayed as lazy, misguided, mediocre.
2nd: Bad Students	—portrayed as lazy, misguided, mediocre.
3rd: "The 1960s"	—an undefined abstraction & craven administrators who gave in to that evil decade.

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4th: Cultural Trends – too much TV, too much vocationalism, etc.

As for what we ought to be doing, the prescriptions in the reports also are rather easily summarized in a set of code words. The one term that heads everyone's list is "excellence" along with its sister terms "quality" and "standards." The second code word is "basics," as in back to. The third term is "coherence" or its equivalent "integrity," also something presumed lost and to be recovered. The fourth refrain is a most broadly stated goal, namely, "national interest." This is usually defined in terms of productivity and international competition, far less often in the sense of preparation for civic life.

I do not propose to bore you with a review of this literature. Intrinsically it does not warrant your time nor mine. But it is exceedingly interesting as a collective expression of contemporary political anxieties and the translation of those anxieties into a misguided agenda for educational reform. Many of these reports have very little to do with education, but they have a lot to do with ideology. That fact deserves the attention of all of us.

We in education – that includes students – have become everyone's easy target. We have lost the confidence of great numbes of our fellow citizens. That is what ought to distress us, not the mediocre specifics of the debate. How can we regain that confidence *but* do so with an interpretation of the nature and purposes of higher education that does not betray the great university tradition of liberal learning? We may begin by a quick, critical review of the key words of our critics.

Let's start with that cluster of magic terms: excellence/quality/standards. My first problem is with the quality of the concern for quality. There is a kind of neurotic obsession with quality and its mechanical measurement. In reading these reports I was reminded over and over again of a best selling book of a few years ago with a title everyone will remember, including those who did not read it, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance.* The protagonist, while a graduate student in philosophy at the University of Chicago, drove himself mad trying to define the concept "quality." It is more healthy, for societies as well as for individuals, to be more accepting of the fact that education, like all complex human activities, is shot through with paradox and ambiguity.

The passion for excellence must be embedded in a vision of wholeness. Great research requires rigor but also vision. Great teaching requires competence and high standards, but also character and understanding. A *uni*versity, of all places, should locate its drive for disciplinary excellence in a conception that stresses the connectedness of knowledge and life.

Too many of these studies talk as if "quality" in higher education were an abstract end in itself. It is not. Quality is a goal to be pursued for the sake of the lives of those who are to be educated and for the good of the society that makes it possible. Neither is quality in a university something produced by faculty independent of the contribution of students. Students, by virtue of the motivation and the preparation they bring to the transactions of education, set the limits of excellence at every institution. This points to the larger sense in which excellence in higher education cannot be achieved in isolation.

If we really are committed to achieving national excellence in higher education, then we must renew our commitment to equality of access to quality education at every level. Enlightenment and equality were linked in our revolution, not only as an ideal but as a concrete aspiration. The translation of that linkage into social reality through education has animated much of the progress we have made as a society.

If we are simultaneously to improve the quality of higher education *and* assure equality of access to institutions of higher education, then the quality of education at the pre-college level must be comparably improved for all children.

If one turns to these reports to find how we are to attain higher quality, one discovers they are almost unanimously uninspired. Little is said about the quality of the actual experience of teaching and learning. All the emphasis is on content, the so-called basics, *and* on the quantitative measurement of the mastery of that content. There is an almost magical confidence in the canon of great works. The implication is that more time devoted to the right material will transform mediocre teachers and students into excellent ones *and* save the nation in the process. Taken to this extreme such a position is patently absurd. Of course some things are more deserving of close study than others, but the determination of what those are is a wonderful, open-ended argument. And, as President Rhodes of Cornell recently said: "It is the spirit of inquiry, as much as the subject of inquiry, that is the benefit of a liberal education."

Most of the back-to-basics advocates are motivated by a desire to get American education back on the main track, thereby rescuing us from the dangerous detours of our recent cultural revolution. But, ironically, one senses in this reaction a curious failure of nerve. The implication is that American culture no longer has the resilience to assimilate new elements. The prospect of a curriculum that is perpetually open at the edges is frightening to those who share this mentality. It is as if they have suffered a loss of intellectual and civic confidence in the American experiment.

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The obvious point is that the canon is never closed. Surely it was not in classical Greece. How then could we explain the furious effort that Plato makes in the *Republic* to purge the curriculum of texts and subject matters that are anathema to him? Nor was it closed in 15th-century Italy. Nor in 19th-century England. Nor in 20th-century America. Only when a culture dies is its canon closed. And when that happens, its own intellectual and technical achievements become the subject matter of debate regarding their possible inclusion in the canon of another, living culture. As long as there is a breath of creative life in American culture, the boundaries of the canon must remain subject to redefinition.

The argument about the canon *is* intellectually and pedagogically interesting in another sense. It forces us to revalidate over and over again our own preferred subject matters and courses. Take just one strand of the debate. How do we justify the overwhelming priority given to the artifacts of Western experience in our curriculum? I think it can be done on several counts but *only* if we grant the validity of such self-critical perspectives as are brought to bear on this tradition by the growing scholarship in fields like women's studies, ethnic studies and environmental studies. It is precisely through these critical reinterpretations of the great tradition that we escape cultural chauvinism and establish the real value of our heritage for the world community. The efforts of the back-to-basics movement to dismiss these new fields of study as "marginal" has missed completely their positive significance.

The other target of the basics group is what they perceive as the excessive vocationalism of much undergraduate education. There is a lot of misplaced moralism in the indictment of this student generation for its "materialism."

In their overreaction to vocationalism, the authors of these reports seem never to have grasped the concept of a *liberal professional education.* I remember in this connection a cartoon by William Hamilton. It pictured two aging, but obviously fit and prosperous businessmen. They are shown relaxing with their martinis in the comfortable chairs of their club. One confides to the other: "I've learned a lot in sixty-three years. But unfortunately, almost all of it is about aluminum."

We on a faculty do not know, we cannot know with certainty, what students will need to know in their future lives. All we can do is offer students the chance to become equipped with the skills of analysis and habits of reflection and foundation of general knowledge on the basis of which they can continue to learn what they need to know throughout their lives. What we don't want to happen is that students leave with a knowledge base so narrow, with skills so specialized, with a vision of life's possibilities so constricted, that at the end of a productive career they will reflect that all they have learned is about aluminum—or its equivalent in English poetry or microeconomics.

One more deep flaw vitiates most of the calls for a return to basics: they are retrospective without historical foundation. They want to return to a period that never was. Worse than that, their authors' antipathy for "the 1960's" has led them to posit a false opposition between innovative and traditional education.

Great colleges and universities with strong traditions are perpetually changing. Their changes become the norms for institutions that lack a strong sense of identity.

I would wager all the chips I have on the following conviction: In the year 2000, those institutions that will display the most continuity with the essence of the great liberal university tradition will *not* be those which have turned back to reclaim an idealized and therefore irrecoverable past, but those which have bent every effort to constructively adapt to the demands of the present and the challenges of the future. To do so is not to abandon the tradition. That *is* the tradition of the university in the West.

Poverty: About 22% of Americans under 18 live in poverty, up from 14% in 1969-70. Forty-eight percent of all black children live in poverty, although poor white children still outnumber poor black children two to one. Children living with a mother in a single-parent home are four times as likely to be poor as children from two family homes. One-sixth of all children in poverty life in a family in which at least one adult has a full-time job. (NYT, 10/20/85)

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THE 51ST STATE

Sam Smith

Bank holidays

If you have been wondering who the good guys were in the struggle between the mayor and city council over interstate banking legislation, the short answer is: neither. Both the plan favored by a majority of the council — which would limit interstate banking to regional banks, and Barry's alternative that would let the biggies in — particularly Citicorp, represent a move towards the further monopolization of financial services that is unlikely to benefit the average depositor. On the grounds that little concentrations of power are better than big ones, I suppose the council approach was the lesser of the evils but it was hardly a profile in courage on anybody's part. Garbing the debate in terms of employment and investment was disingenuous to say the least. Citicorp's promised two hundred jobs were less than ten percent of the jobs Marion Barry wiped out in one swipe of his pen when he signed the new vending legislation. And one person's investment, DCers should know full well, is another person's eviction. Who would be the primary beneficiaries of this new money coming to town? The moderate income homebuyer or the mayor's developer buddies?

The debate also illustrated the level of ethical standards in the city government. At the height of the controversy, Citicorp sponsored a reception with the mayor for the Chinese trade show, costing, it is said, $40,000. And no one said a mumblin' word.

Follow the bouncing figures

You may have noticed some disparity between the figures we used last month on commuter patterns and those published in the Washington Post, which showed a much greater increase in subway ridership. The figures the Post used, however, were from a COG draft report that went through 1985, the year that the important extension to Shady Grove opened. Further, the latest COG report includes ridership to Northern Virginia as well as downtown and this was affected by the 1983 opening of the Huntington extension. This produced a 42% increase in morning inbound Metro ridership between 1983 and 1985, much higher than the earlier COG figures we used.

Because of the opening of new extensions *and* increasing the size of the survey base to include burgeoning Northern Virginia, the difference is not surprising. One hopes there is an increase in ridership when new lines open. Further, the inclusion of Northern Virginia reflects the fact that, more and more, downtown isn't just downtown but across the river. DC politicians cheering the growth of Metro might wish to think about some of the implications of this.

Also, when you take into account the drop-off in bus ridership, morning inbound mass transit use rose only 5% during the period 1981-1985. Meanwhile automobile use went up 15%. Perhaps a 200-mile Metro is the answer.

Cop capital

Regardie's Magazine reports that Washington has nearly 7500 police officers. That's down considerably from the sixties but still a national record. New York, for example has one cop for every 270 citizens and San Francisco, a city of comparable size, has one for every 350. DC, on the other hand, has one for every 85. Says Regardie's, DC "has managed to create a police bureaucracy limited only by the imagination. Why stop now? Watch in the future for the baseball expansion team police, the tourists-in-gaudy-clothes police, and —probably not before 1990 — cable television police."

Special thanks

Those still mad at Don't Tear It Down (now the DC Preservation League) for trading off Rhodes Tavern for a couple of facades will be happy to learn that the organization, in its most recent newsletter, lists a number of major developers and architects who have contributed to the organization including the Oliver T. Carr Company, which gave $500.

Couldn't give it away

It's nice to hear that the city government wants to buy the Roosevelt, an eight-story apartment building on 16th Street that has been home for hundreds of elderly tenants. But what isn't so nice to hear is this: the woman who owned the building and who now lives in Florida, offered to **give** the city the Roosevelt in the past, but was turned down, according to her attorney.

Park & Shop and hold the shop

Washington's first park & shop is slated to be torn down by the Cafritz people. Located at the Cleveland Park Metro on Connecticut Ave., the shopping center is also thought to be one of the first of its kind in the country. Writing in the Star in 1963, John Willman said, "It proved to be the forerunner of many others established within the District and also the giant park-shop complexes that have been

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created in suburban areas." In 1934 the Architectural Record cited the center as the primary example of a good approach to neighborhood shopping center design. Current Cafritz plans are to tear down the shops and leave just the parking, but Cleveland Park residents, led by the newly formed Cleveland Park Historical Society and the local neighborhood commission, are organizing to fight the move and have filed an application to designate the site as an historic landmark.

Antioch really in trouble

The establishment's least favorite law school, Antioch, is struggling to raise $2.5 million by late December to save itself. The

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

When rent control was first adopted, it ws intended as a means of dealing with the housing shortage. Because of the way rent control takes away housing providers' incentives to provide rental housing, it has resulted in not more rental housing, but more boarded-up buildings in run-down neighborhoods and condominia in upscale places, and *less* housing relative to demand. By its own standards, rent control has failed, as the Urban League, Brookings Institution, and other groups recognize.

While reversion to the free market may not be as bad as continuing rent control, it is hardly the best solution. Progressives should be looking at other alternatives, rather than hanging their hats on one that has decidedly failed. E.g.:

(1) A program along the lines of Betty Anne Kane's bill which would cap rents at 30% of income and allow housing providers to take the difference between the capped and prevailing rents off their tax bills. Such a program could be expanded to all rental units. This would be fairer because the government would pay for its housing policy rather than making housing providers foot the bill for the government's policy. Such a program could be mandatory.

(2) Waive taxes, water and sewer fees, even some other regulations, for providers agreeing to hold down rents.

(3) Eliminate laws that discriminate against or otherwise discourage rental housing (e.g., taxing apartment buildings at a higher rate while refusing to provide them with city trash service). Do a comprehensive review of all regulations affecting housing and prepare "impact statements" for those laws which have the effect of discouraging housing provision to see if benefits outweight the lost housing.

(4) Permit tenants to organize into unions, negotiate with housing providers, and mediate/arbitrate impasses, as workers now do. Providers would probably acquiesce to such an arrangement in exchange for minimal government regulation because they could work out with tenants something agreeable to both depending upon specific circumstances of individual housing situations. In this way providers and tenants would be forced to work together and cooperate for their common well-being much as labor and management now do. This would directly empower tenants instead of increasing the power of government over both providers and tenants.

(5) D.C. Council declaration that affordable rental housing is a matter of interest to the State and taking by eminent domain of rental housing units, with appropriate "golden parachutes" for housing providers, many of whom will not contest the seizure or will sell voluntarily at the right price. Even this is better than rent control because the government will now be footing the bill for public policy rather than fobbing it off on others (housing providers under rent control). Tenants, who apparently now prefer dealing with the government over dealing with their provider, would yearn for a return of the free market after having the government as landlord for a while. This would force the government to put up or shut up. If it can't do better than the private sector, then it should not tell the private sector how to do things, and should keep housing in the private market. If it can best private sector performance—great! Based on the government's current track record with public housing, this option probably is not now feasible, but with work by housing activists could be made so.

Dino Joseph Drudi
Brookland, DC

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funds would be used to renovate the former Perry School at First & M St NW, which the city government has agreed to lease. Leaders of the fund drive include Ralph Nader, Joe Rauh and David Eaton. Last month, the trustees of Antioch University voted to end financial support of the law school, claiming that its own financial needs came first.

Tree planting campaign

In a too-rare example of the city paying attention to the little things that make a difference, the Barry administration has announced that it will plant 5000 new trees by next April 30th. The city will also remove dead trees. If you know of dead street trees that have not already been marked with a red dot, you can call 767-8532. The city takes care of about 100,000 trees, of which about 3000 die each year. Incidentally, citizens are free to take any cord-wood left by the tree project.

• The Public Interest Computer Association has opened its Non-Profit Computer Resource Center at 2001 O Street. PICA has been in the forefront in helping non-profits move into the computer age and the new center will offer training programs, a library, and technical assistance. Call 775-1588.

• GWU is one of the universities targeted by the right-wing snoopers described elsewhere in this issue.

• The Ultimate Yuppie: the town of Washington, Va., often called "Little Washington," is debating whether to allow helicopters to land within the town limits. Reason: some patrons of the trendy restaurant, the Inn at Little Washington, are arriving for dinner by whirlybird. Other less upscale customers just ride the hour and a half trip from Washington in a stretch limo.

Long March for Peace

Hoping to revive campus anti-nuclear activism, disarmament proponents are combing colleges to sign up students for an unprecedented nine-month march across the country. Leaders of PROPEACE hope to attract 5000 people, including 2000 students, to march from Los Angeles to Washington next year, a 3,235 mile journey beginning in March and climaxed by a mass candlelight vigil in November.

"Members of Congress have made it very clear that nothing will happen to dramatically affect the arms race until there is, literally, a citizen uprising," explains PROPEACE founder David Mixner, a veteran of Vietnam war protests and a longtime organizer of state ballot referenda.

To pull off his "uprising," Mixner hopes to raise $18 to $20 million, which would make it the most expensive, most prolonged protest in memory. PROPEACE will also have to find some way to awaken the dormant campus anti-nuclear movement. "Organized anti-nuclear forces on campus are not there now, but there is a great deal of receptivity to the issue," reports Marshall Mayer, who is organizing the current campus recruiting drive. Because few students can devote nine months to walking across the country, Mayer has organized a panel of professors to aid students in getting course credit for the adventure.

Mayer thinks the sheer magnitude of the sacrifice PROPEACE is seeking will revive interest in the arms race. "People go to college to build a future, and college students are increasingly realizing they won't have a future unless nuclear arms are dismantled."

Efforts to build a sustained anti-nuclear weaponry campus movement peaked with the "convocation" and "Ground Zero" teach-ins and rallies of 1983 and 1984. Organizers readily confess it as mostly a faculty, not a student, movement.

But even faculty groups faded away in the months after the spring 1984 network television broadcast of "The Day After," a film about the effects of nuclear war.

So Sanford Gottlieb, director of United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War says PROPEACE will make history if it meets its numerical and fundraising goals. —CPS

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The Angry Young of the Middle East

William O. Beeman

William O. Beeman is an anthropologist at Brown University specializing in the Middle East.

The hijacking of the Italian cruise ship by a Palestinian splinter group highlights a new phase in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Increasingly the antagonists are not governments and organized movements but angry and frustrated young men. Demographics, not ideology, lies behind the escalating violence.

Young men and women are emigrating from Israel in record numbers—fleeing horrendous inflation and lack of economic opportunity. Most of those leaving are educated, upper-middle class "European" Jews, the Ashkenazim. Left behind are the generally poorer, more working-class "Oriental" Jews, the Sephardim, who are also underemployed and equally frustrated by Israel's economic situation.

The Ashkenazim are generally better connected in Europe and the United States where many have family ties. If things get really bad, they would have some place to which they could emigrate. The Sephardim, by contrast, have few places to go. They suffered greatly under Muslim rule,and cannot return to their countries of origin. They have now only Israel as a homeland.

The Sephardim additionally have a higher birthrate than the Ashkenazim. Thus, their representation in the Israeli population as a whole is increasing. They are predictably the single most important cause for the rise in the extreme right in Israeli politics in recent years, as represented by Rabbi Meir Kahane and his political party, the Gush Emunim. Their political position is simply the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel, including the West Bank and Gaza.

Just as in Israel, demographic shifts among Palestinians have increased the number of those who would tend to support violence. Moderates—those who have long favored direct negotiation with Israel for some return of territory for Palestinians made homeless in the 1948 and 1967 wars—have been in decline.

The Palestinian community now consists of three large groups. The first are the educated Palestinians living in urban centers throughout the Middle East, such as Amman and Damascus. Many now also live in Europe and North America. These are the Palestinian elite with connections throughout the world. They are likely to be able to make their way with no outside help. For them the question of a land settlement for Palestinian refugees is largely a philosophical and ethical issue.

The second group are educated, middle- to lower-class individuals employed as office workers, skilled laborers, teachers and merchants throughout the Middle East. They have little in the way of independent income, own no property, and are dependent on local employers and economic conditions for their livelihood.

The third group are those now living as refugees either in camps or in urban areas in Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. They are very poor, and have little hope of advancing their economic situation except through education and eventual emigration. This is the group that will benefit most directly from any land settlement.

The third group is the fastest growing of the three. Moreover, the largest proportion of them is now living in Israeli-occupied territory. Of all the three groups, these Palestinians have the least mobility, and the least opportunity to advance their fortunes through their individual efforts.

Given this scenario, the future course of the Palestinian situation is clear. Young, frustrated Sephar-

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FLOTSAM & JETSAM

Pass Me A Mentor Please

It seems like only a few months ago I first noticed that those journalists whose speciality is gratuitous advice had started writing about the importance of mentors. Everywhere I looked there was another article on the subject and soon everywhere I turned somebody was talking about them.

It seemed to me odd that suddenly there should be so many mentors around — even more strange that they should be concentrated in the corporate world, not a place where formerly one would have started a search for a mentor. In a matter of months, in that epidemical fashion in which catchwords spread, there were enough mentors for everyone. I thought this a little sad, because mentors had always seemed to me to be special and rare creatures. Now, it appeared, any old vice president could serve as a mentor, somewhat denigrating the trade.

But I had just about resigned myself to this latest sign of cultural entropy when I learned by reading the Washington Post's busybody column, Style Plus (a phrase I've never even tried to understand although it reeks faintly of a new shampoo), that mentors weren't all they were cracked up to be. In fact, according to the headline, there was now a "mentor menace." Mentors, it turned out, for example, are not primarily altruistic. Says one researcher, mentors get their proteges to do "the step-work,make the mentor's job easier, help build the mentor's reputation." (This is a wonderful illustration of the self-help gestalt: while the reader of self-help advice is entitled to use any machiavellian means to achieve "self-actualization," similar activity on the part of non-readers, whether employers, colleagues or spouses, is treated disparagingly. How this works when all those involved read the same book I don't know).

Further, the mentor supply had been significantly over-estimated leading those who read previous articles on the importance of having a mentor feeling angry and frustrated. Thus, it would appear, the popular press is now manufacturing new neuroses along with its other sins.

The mentor crisis is but one small example of the dangers of a society that prides itself on its growing "service economy." At the core of the service economy is not service (that has clearly deteriorated) but an increasing number of people who get paid to do silly things, like writing about mentors. Unfortunately, the problem is that though the things they do may be silly, the effects can be quite serious, as even the Post admitted when it painted the vision of millions of proteges searching desperately for non-existent mentors. To the media and the trend hustlers the silliness is just money in the bank, but the result is also that many otherwise sensible people become enthralled with a succession of easy-come, easy-go, easy-to-understand therapies, solutions, and philosophical concepts, producing to the naked eye no improvement in their well being and certainly a decline in our well-being whenever they are around telling us all about it all.

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The press, the book publishers, the workshop leaders, the marketplace academics have become, in a sense, the snake oil purveyors of our age, pushing dubious philosophical and psychological nostrums on a public that curiously appears to become more gullible the higher its economic status. At least the patter of the patent medicine merchant could serve as a form of entertainment and occasionally rise to poetry. but no such succor exists with today's hucksters. They are, above all, humorless, trite, and excrutiatingly dull. They and their constituency constantly talk of human fulfillment even as they are driving the human out of their language and their social intercourse. As one of the breed said at a Washington conference, "It's fine to be social as long as you're networking." Keep talking this way and pretty soon you'll being thinking of your lover as a good resource person.

Further, in these discussions of self-fulfillment and achievement there is precious little indication that the reader need provide anything other than style and desire. The idea that skill, talent and/or effort might affect the mentor-protege relationship, for example, is passed over lightly.

The trend hustlers carry out their wretched business by attenuating the highs and lows of the of whatever it is they are talking about, much as elevator and shopping mall music attenuates the high and the low notes to produce a jarless sound. Practice a few simple exercises, follow a few tips, evolve through a few carefully pre-determined stages and you will come to the solution as unruffled as a ride to the 13th floor.

By-passing the complexities of centuries of theology, philosophy and speculation, they contribute to the relatively new American ethos of the inevitability of a solution. The promise of science, of course, has played its part; the blinding spiral of technology, too. But the trendmeisters have a mighty hand as well, encouraging people to be impatient with complexity, indifferent to subtlety, tired of waiting for answers, and restless with the ambiguities, uncertainties and mysteries of life.

I believe, for example, that Wilson Goode dropped that bomb in Philadelphia in part because he, like a good contemporary American, believed in the inevitability of a solution. He could not accept that some problems simply don't have a neat, speedy cure. If the A-Team could handle the situation in sixty minutes, surely he could not dawdle, either.

The president is, of course, the master of inevitable solutions and the American public eats it up. He has a solution for every problem. The fact that a number of these solutions have gone a tad awry, such as doubling the national debt or killing a couple of hundred Marines, doesn't seem to matter.

Contrast the treatment of Reagan's massive failures coming out of his solutions-at-all costs approach with that accorded to the American hostage in Lebanon who was pilloried for suggesting that there were two sides to the Mid-East issue. Our faith in solutions is so strong that we prefer a bad one to a dose of complexity or ambiguity.

We have come to believe that a solution is our right. That's one reason so many doctors are being sued these days.

Similarly, when Hurricane Gloria struck, no less a media guide than Dan Rather implied that somehow the National Hurricane Center had failed in its duty by not pinpointing the exact path of the storm. The idea that a well-funded government agency could not tell us more than it did not fit his belief in the inevitability of a solution.

Some might see underlying all this a sense of optimism out of hand. I don't think so. Optimism requires, most of all, faith and hope. Our culture's manic drive for solutions is fueled not by faith

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THE REAGAN FILE

From a Leslie Gelb article on "The Mind of the President" in the New York Times Magazine: Sometimes the President will stake out a new position on his own with little input from his aides or even in the face of their opposition. This was the case with his idea for the Strategic Defense Initiative. After a few casual conversations on the subject with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and others, he informed his aids that he wanted them to prepare a speech for him outlining a bold new space-oriented missile defense system. Many staff members disagreed with the scope of his plan, as did most military experts and members of Congress, but found themselves yielding in the face of his unbending will."

That meddlesome Constitution: Ronald Reagan, meeting with a group of congressional Republicans, banged his first on the table and said of congressional restraints on his war against Nicaragua, "We've got to get where we can run a foreign policy without a committee of 535 telling us what to do."

A General Accounting Office study found that three-fifths of administration officials receiving home to office limousine service were not entitled to do so. Reagan has also submitted a bill increasing by 25% the number of officials receiving limo service. Rep. Pat Schroeder wrote Reagan about this noting that "Over the years, some campaigning politicians have made great use of 'welfare Cadillac' anecdotes. You have turned the anecdote into a reality."

Although Reagan boasts that AIDS research has been a major priority for his government, the Office of Technology Assessment reports that 93% of all Public Health Service funds used on AIDS in 1982-83 were taken from other PHS programs.

Attorney General Edwin Meese in an an interview with US News & World Report: "You don't have many suspects who are innocent of a crime. That's contradictory. If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect."

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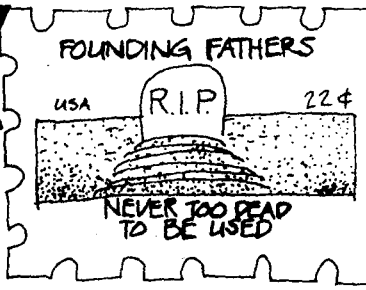
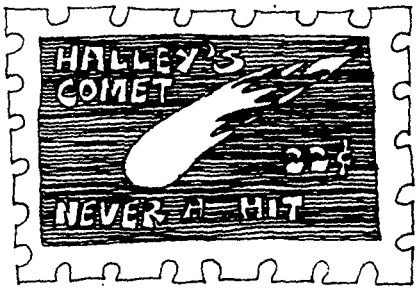
ARCHIHORSE

COMMEMORATING OUR NEW COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS

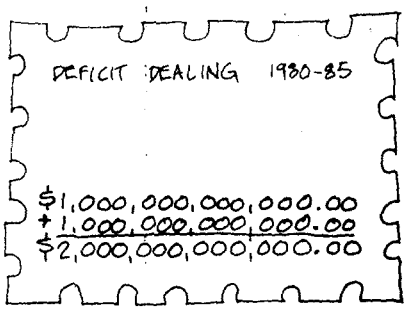
WIEB



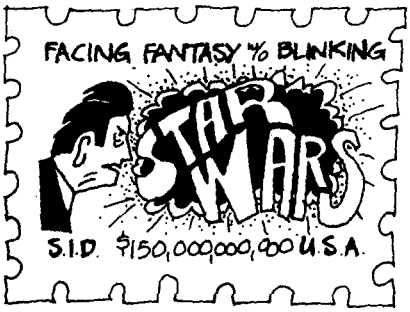
THIS STAMP CELEBRATES ATTORNEY GENERAL MEESE'S IMAGINATIVE ALTERNATIVE TO THE SUPREME COURT...



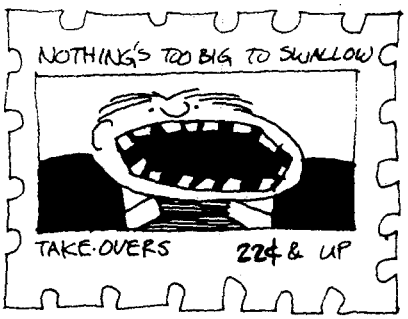
HALLEY'S COMET IS TO BE HONORED FOR KEEPING TO ITS SCHEDULE—& FOR KEEPING ITS DISTANCE...



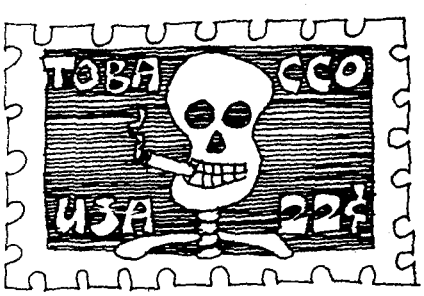
THIS STAMP IS A TRIBUTE TO THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO SOLVING THE NATION'S HUGE BUDGET DEFICET...



A TOUCHING FLIGHT FROM REALITY IN HIGH PLACES IS RECOGNIZED BY A TOUCHING NEW COMMEMORATIVE...

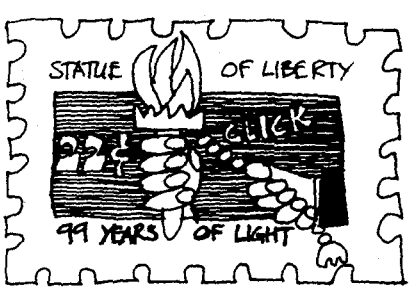


BUSINESS LEADERS WILL BE HONORED FOR RESPONDING TO TRADE GAPS & SUPPLY SIDE TAX DODGES SO CREATIVELY...



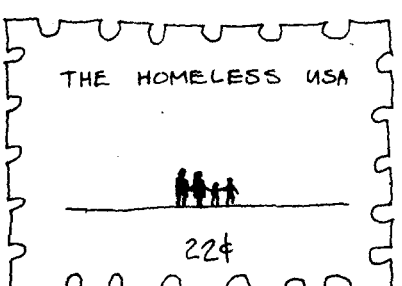
THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY & ITS CONGRESSIONAL FRIENDS ARE LONG OVERDUE RECOGNITION OF THEIR WORKS...

ORTEGA'S NEW SUN GLASSES GAIN HONOR FOR COSTING ENOUGH TO PROVE HE'S IN CONTROL IN NICARAGUA...

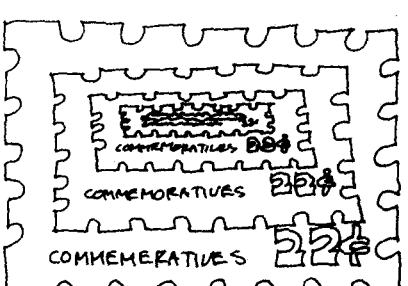


THE STATUE OF LIBERTY IS CELEBRATED HERE FOR BEING RENOVATED INTO HAVING AN UNLIT TORCH..

A TAX ACT IS CELEBRATED FOR HELPING DEVELOPERS COVER CITIES WITH OFFICE BUILDINGS NOT NEEDING ANY TENANTS.



THE HOMELESS GAIN HONOR FOR HAVING DONE SO MUCH TO RELIEVE THE GOV'T OF HAVING TO DEAL WITH HOUSING.



COMMEMORATIVES ARE COMMEMORATED BECAUSE WITHOUT THEM, WE'D BE STUCK WITH STAMPS PANDERING TO THE PRESIDENCY.

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WOMEN & PORNOGRAPHY

ISABELLE KATZ PINSLER

Isabelle Katz Pinzler directs the women's rights project of the ACLU Foundation. Excerpted from a paper prepared for the 1985 Biennial Conference of the American Civil Liberties Union

The well-known anti-pornography ordinances have cropped up in many localities. They have, however, been litigated only in Indianapolis. Here are some feminist reasons to oppose such laws.

The Indianapolis ordinance and others of its ilk define pornography as "the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women, whether in pictures or words," and amend the relevant human rights law to declare such presentations to be sex discrimination. However, discrimination cannot occur without conduct—actual identifiable practices, not simply "pictures or words." This conduct must result directly in the differential treatment of individuals on the basis of sex. It is these practices—not images—which subordinate women. Thus, our Constitution and laws directly prohibit practices which deny the vote, employment, education, credit, housing, and access to public accommodations, on the basis of sex. Similarly the Supreme Court has condemned the actual denial, on the basis of sex, of the right to administer estates, the right to receive alimony, the right to receive fringe benefits in the military, the right to attend a state nursing school, and the right to receive benefits under various social welfare programs.

"Words or pictures" cannot substitute for the requisite conduct or practices required to constitute sex discrimination. No amount of dogmatic insistence on the part of the proponents of the ordinance can

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alter the simple fact that speech without conduct or some proven differential treatment, is insufficient standing alone to constitute discrimination. Thus "whites only" signs and sex-segregated want ads are discriminatory and may be barred because they form an integral part of a practice of actual exclusion based on race and sex. But the representation of a "whites only" sign in a film or publication, which is not tied to concrete practices of exclusion, does not constitute discrimination. There is "no doubt that a newspaper constitutionally could be forbidden to publish a want ad proposing a sale of narcotics or soliciting prostitutes," but the same newspaper could clearly publish an article with pictures about narcotics or prostitutes, or an editorial favoring the legalization of either or both activities. Similarly, the actual lynching of blacks is murder--but the depiction of a lynching cannot be prohibited, and in fact may be a most powerful tool in persuading viewers of the moral turpitude of such an act.

Clearly pictures and words alone cannot be discrimination, but the question remains whether they are tied inextricably to conduct constituting discrimination. Precious little evidence has been proffered to show a nexus between pornography and violence against women, and there is little reason to believe that the censorship of pornography alone will alleviate violence against women. Even less evidence is available to suggest a link between pornography and sex discrimination as reflected in the wage gap, occupational segregation, discrimination in pensions and insurance, and feminization of poverty. Some of the most extreme forms of sex discrimination occurred in times and places where pornography was not widely disseminated, thus destroying any notion of a causal relationship between the conduct constituting sex discrimination and the "words and pictures" contained in pornography.

For example, in societies such as contemporary Spain or Victorian England, where censorship is, or was, widespread, women suffered severe discrimination. In societies such as Sweden, where censorship of sexually explicit material is virtually non-existent, women have achieved a greater-than-usual degree of social and political equality. Indeed, it is at least as likely that the achievement of sexual equality rests more on an ability to confront sexuality openly, without state-imposed restrictions, than on a state-imposed limitation on the portrayal of offensive sexual imagery. History teaches us that women do not flourish in a climate of sexual repression and censorship.

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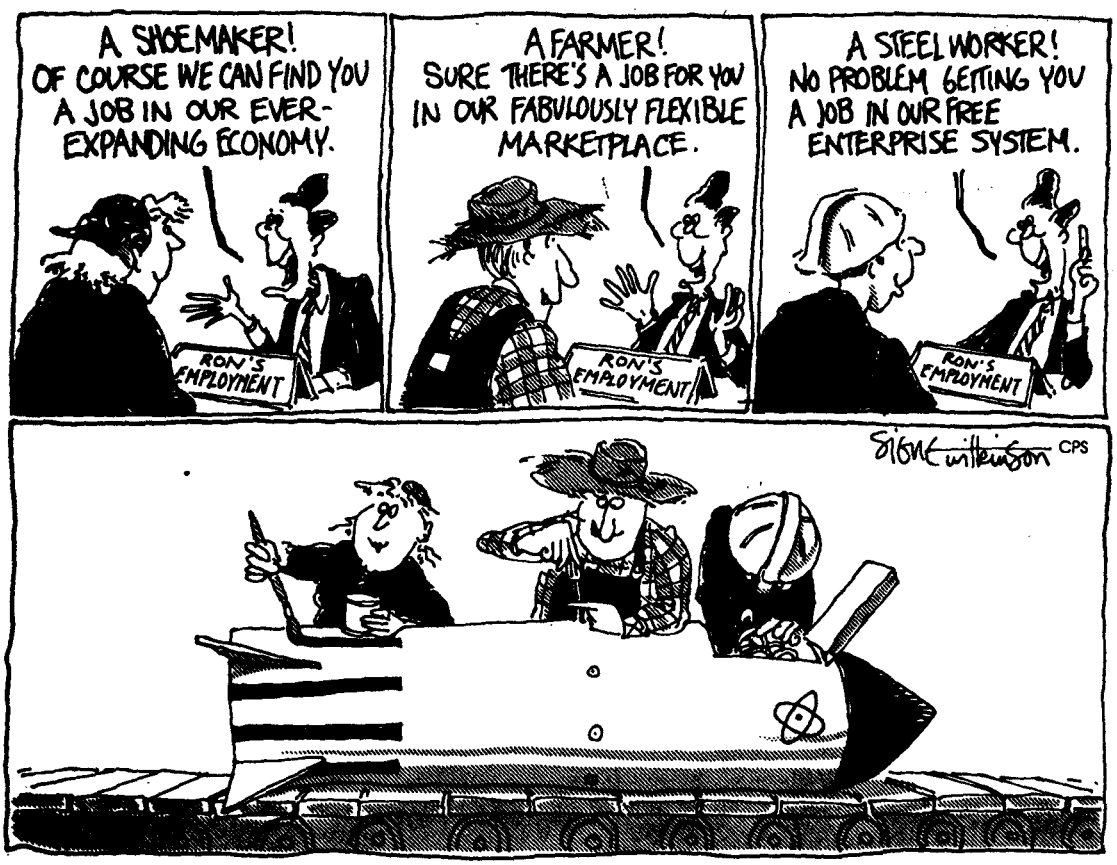
Women have historically been the victims of censorship laws ostensibly designed for their protection, but which actually impeded their search for equality and personal freedom. In the name of protection of women, censorship laws have regulated sexually explicit materials and simultaneously limited women's sexual and reproductive choices by denying them access to information about sexuality, reproductive physiology, and birth control. The late nineteenth century movement to regulate public morality accepted censorship as a "reform requisite," necessary for the protection of "womanhood" from the "germs of licentiousness." The purity crusade, under the leadership of Anthony Comstock and his Society for the Suppression of Vice, culminated in passage of the Comstock Law, which broadly prohibited mailing, transporting, or importing "obscene, lewd, or lascivious" items, including all information pertaining to "preventing contraception and producing abortion." The Comstock Law served as a model for 22 state "little Comstock laws" which imposed restrictions on the prescription, sale, and use of contraceptives. —Come Unity


A SHOEMAKER! OF COURSE WE CAN FIND YOU A JOB IN OUR EVER-EXPANDING ECONOMY.
RON'S EMPLOYMENT
A FARMER! SURE THERE'S A JOB FOR YOU IN OUR FABULOUSLY FLEXIBLE MARKETPLACE.
RON'S EMPLOYMENT
A STEELWORKER! NO PROBLEM GETTING YOU A JOB IN OUR FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.
RON'S EMPLOYMENT
SIGNE WILKINSON CPS

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COLLEGE SNOOPS

David Gaede

"All I know is that they have me on their list," says Boston University political science professor Howard Zinn. "Whether they have agents in my classroom is a good question. That's the most insidious part of this whole thing: everything is kept secret. You just don't know."

He may not know who is watching him, but he does know why.

Zinn, a self-described "Marxist, socialist, and independent radical," is on a list of several thousand social science professors with leftist leanings.

Aand so it is going across the country this fall as a new "watchdog" group—Accuracy in Academia—enlists conservative students to "monitor" their professors for "liberal" slants and "misinformation."

AIA has garnered so many student volunteers nationwide that it has dropped its original plan to use senior citizens to monitor classrooms for liberal sentiments.

Now students, most with grades and credits on the line, will do the monitoring, reports Les Csorba, AIA's executive director.

While many students volunteered independently, many of them are also members of campus conservative groups such as the College Republicans and Young Americans for Freedom.

AIA, in fact, has begun direct mail campaigns to solicit campus conservatives for money and support.

All of which conjures up images of "witch hunts," "Red Scares," "McCarthyism," and "Thought Police" for critics in the academic community, who charge the monitoring practice could have a "chilling effect" on college classrooms.

They cite how the fear of being branded a communist—and losing jobs and grades—during the fifties stifled thought on campuses and, according to some observers, so retarded American scientific thought that it took huge federal spending to restore U.S. primacy in the sixties.

An offshoot of Reed Irvine's Accuracy in Media—a group which monitors the media for leftist biases and then conducts publicity and letter-writing campaigns against liberal offenders—AIA was formed to attack what Irvine and others feel is the other great bastion of liberal thought: the college campus.

"The response and need for this service have been overwhelming," Csorba says.

"This organization really has exploded with letters and phone calls—hundreds of them—from students on campuses interested in helping us," he adds. "We now have almost 100 colleges where students are in contact with us about what their professors are saying in class."

The group has targeted the social sciences, he reports, and specifically professors with liberal beliefs "because they have been most guilty of violating [objective teaching] guidelines."

But "any professor—right or left—will be reported and exposed if they are distorting the facts."

Among other things, Csorba says, AIA will complain to school administrators, department chairs, and the local community, as well as "printing up student complaints in our national newsletter" when it finds professors who mention facts with which AIA disagrees.

For many academicians, that's a nightmare come true.

"We are growing very concerned about the group and its allegations," says Iris Molotsky, spokeswoman for the American Association of University Professors.

"The presence in classrooms of monitors will inhibit academic freedom. Students will hesitate before presenting controversial ideas and professors may withhold unpopular opinions. We believe the group's claim—that they alone can decide what is correct or incorrect information—is both arrogant and hollow," she says.

BU's Zinn is more to the point.

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CHARLES McDOWELL

E. B. White

E.B. White wrote better than other people. He died recently, at 86, at his farm in Maine. He is survived by the essays, the poems, the parodies, the books for children and their adult friends, the editorials on nuclear bombs and on Muzak, the letters, the cartoon captions, the "Funny Coincidence Department," the bird watcher's notes, the farmyard journals, the best book ever written on how to write and the line: "It is my belief that no writer can improve his work until he discards the dulcet notion that the reader is feebleminded, for writing is an act of faith, not a trick of grammar."

William Shawn, editor of the New Yorker, where White went to work in 1927, gave this statement on his death:

"E.B. White was a great essayist, a supreme stylist. His literary style was as pure as any in our language. It was singular, colloquial, clear, unforced, thoroughly American and utterly beautiful.

"Because of his quiet influence, several generations of this country's writers write better than they might have done. He never wrote a mean or careless sentence. He was impervious to literary, intellectual and political fashion. He was ageless and his writing was timeless. . . .He loved his farm, his farm animals, his neighbors and words."

We can be grateful to Shawn for seeing White so clearly, but we do not have to pretend that Shawn passed the test of White's Rule No. 4 in the Elements of Style: "Write with nouns and verbs, not with adjectives and adverbs.'

Shawn got White's proportions right and did not overstate, and that is what matters. All of White's followers, all the generations of us, know how demanding his standards are. He did not always hit them himself. He would defy them and in defying exceed them in some cranky, lovely leap of spirit.

How would E.B. White have written of the passing of such a man? Years ago, he wrote the New Yorker's obituary notice on its legendary founding editor, Harold Ross. He devoted it mainly to rambling speculation on how fascinated Ross would have been with the rush against the weekly deadline: to bring order to a flighty staff, to have a proper obituary written fast, to set the type, to put it into a magazine already on the press. We saw Ross and felt the love for him.

James Thurber, who thought he should have been chosen for the writing, told White it was rotten work. Nobody else agreed. White and Thurber got over it. They were friends who, with Ross, had given the New Yorker its way of going from the first.

(In those early days, Thurber, a writer, drew a couple of rudimentary cartoons and Ross published them. Thurber immediately signed up for art lessons. White made him quit the lessons, saying, "If you ever got good, you'd be mediocre.")

White's favorite writer was Henry Thoreau. He carried a paperback edition of "Walden" in his pocket for years and found that he had memorized much of it. In The Elements of Style, he warns us to beware of "offbeat" writing (Rule No. 21). In a famous essay on Thoreau, he calls him a master of offbeat prose—"a prose at once strictly disciplined and wildly abandoned."

So we should stay away from the offbeat unless we are Thoreau. Or White. He wrote of his companion a century removed:

"Thoreau once ate a woodchuck. I think he felt he owed it to his readers and that it was little enough, considering the indignities they were suffering at his hands and the dressing-down they were taking. (Parts of 'Walden' are pure scold.)

"Or perhaps he ate the woodchuck because he believed every man should acquire strict business habits and the woodchuck was destroying his market beans. I do not know. Thoreau had a strong experimental streak in him. It is probably no harder to eat a woodchuck than to construct a sentence that lasts a hundred years."

Note White's reference to readers. He worried about them all the time. The Elements of Style was his expansion of a slim textbook by his English pro-

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fessor at Cornell, Will Strunk, and White wrote in the introduction: "Will felt that the reader was in serious trouble most of the time, a man floundering in a swamp, and that it was the duty of anyone attempting to write English to drain this swamp quickly and get his man up on dry ground, or at least throw him a rope."

In his considerable contemplations of American humor, White kept coming back to Don Marquis, a columnist on the New York Sun more than half a century ago. Marquis created Archy, a cockroach who left columns in his typewriter. Hurling himself against the keys, Archy wrote in blank verse and without capitals or punctuation because he could not operate the shift key.

White wrote of Archy: "The details of his creative life make him blood brother to writing men. He cast himself with all his force upon a key, head downward. So do we all. And when he was through his labors, he fell to the floor, spent. He was vain (so are we all), hungry, saw things from the underside and was continually bringing up the matter of whether he should be paid for his work."

Of Marquis himself, White wrote: "He was parodist, historian, poet, clown, fable writer, satirist, reporter and teller of tales." And then comes a line to end a column on E.B. White.

"Whatever fiddle he plucked, he always produced a song."

Richmond Times-Dispatch

WE WERE THE ENEMY

Bill Shunas

The following is reprinted from the Veteran, *the newspaper of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War:*

Our jeep moved slowly along the crowded road. Highway 1 was always crowded. Bicycles, motorbikes and Lambrettas filled with Vietnamese as well as our jeeps and 1/4 ton trucks and other equipment made for some strange highway traffic. Two different societies—the motorized U.S. Army and the Vietnamese peasants—were thrown together, getting in each other's way.

We finally reached the cutoff road to Phu Loi and turned off. Away from the traffic we were in a different world—the peaceful countryside. Officially we had some business to take care of in Phu Loi, but unofficially the three of us just had some free time and wanted to get away from the base.

Lots of GIs have talked about how beautiful a country Vietnam is—it's true. Driving along that road was so peaceful. We only ran into a few American vehicles. Here and there would be parked off the side of the road a jeep where a GI would be fooling around with a short-time girl.

Most of the people we saw were Vietnamese peasants going about their daily routine. Women walked along the side of the road in twos and threes. They all wore the traditional outfits: black silk pants with the wide-brimmed conical straw hats. Children could be seen playing in the dirt of the hamlets. Here and there an old man could be seen standing in the doorway of one of the wooden shacks.

That country was something else. We passed thick green forest and brightly painted Buddhist temples. Small green stalks were shooting up above the water in the rice paddies where the peasants were working alongside their buffalo. It was hard to believe that all this was in the middle of a war.

We finished our business in Phu Loi and headed back. Along the way we decided to stop at a village to get a drink of coconut milk. When we pulled over to the side of the road, about fifteen or twenty villagers came up to and surrounded the jeep. A few were old ladies, but most were young children.

"Hey, GI, you want buy drink?"

"You want buy coca cola?"

The kids were cute. Some seemed to be very

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young. One climbed on my partner's lap in the front, and two girls got in the back seat with me.

"Hello," I said.

"Hello," they said.

"How are you?" I asked.

They didn't answer. Either they didn't know any more English or they were too awed by these Americans and their big jeep. Cute. It was a nice day.

It all happened so fast. A young girl asked Jim in the front if he wanted to buy some melons.

"No thanks."

"Why not?" she asked.

"I don't want any."

"You have candy for me?" (Was this a World War II movie I wondered.) We didn't have any.

"You give me money," she said.

I was confused, surprised, a little hurt, on edge. The little girl told Jim, "You sonofabitch! Fuckin' GI."

She walked around the jeep and kicked it a few times. The two little girls jumped out of the back seat. "Fuckin' GI's. Motherfucker bastards," the girl continued.

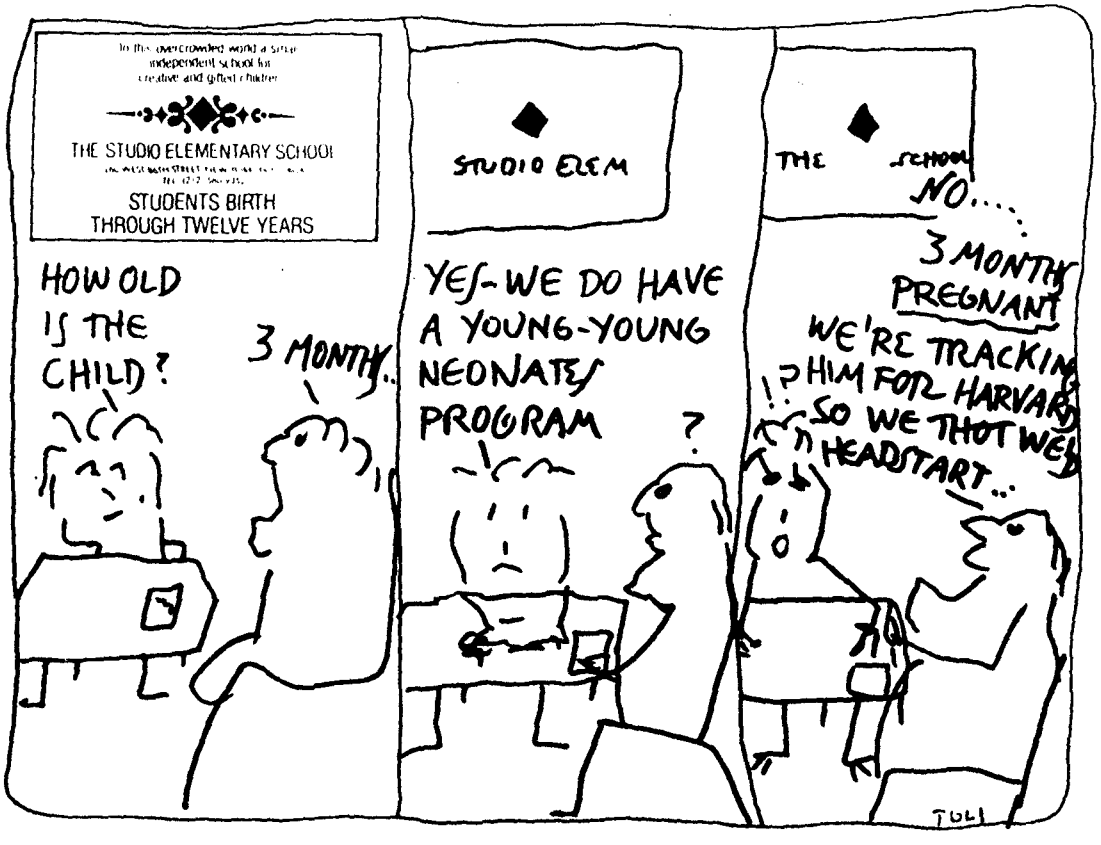
An old woman in the crowd cried out, "Motherfucker. Cocksucker. No give us money. Bastards! Bastards!"

It was fast becoming ugly. The whole crowd was yelling at us. All these women and small children. A woman stuck her face right up to mine. "Fuck you, GI."

Jim gently, but firmly picked up the kid in the front seat and placed her on the ground. He started the engine and moved the jeep slowly forward. Some women were in the way, but he kept moving and they jumped aside, kicking the sides of the vehicle. Once past the edge of the crowd, he hit the gas pedal hard and sped away as the crowd screamed and threw fruit at us.

We rode silently back to base, each lost in his thoughts. So much for winning hearts and minds. I had come to Vietnam thinking we were doing the right thing and helping these people fight the enemy. Because of this and a few other things I saw, I was coming to the horrible awakening that just maybe, we were the enemy.

(C) The Veteran
Vietnam Veterans Against the War
PO Box 408594, Chicago, Ill.



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Flotsam & Jetsam. . .

and hope but by an overdeveloped sense of entitlement. Whether it's mentors, AIDS or hurricanes, we deserve a solution.

It is a major shift in American values. Much of this country's history is a story of people who were truly optimistic, who pitted their hope and faith against what the law of averages said was their due. Peter Ustinov said in "Romonov and Juliet," "I'm an optimist; I know how bad the world is; you're a pessimist you're always finding out." The trend hucksters, with their fraudulent message of the inevitability of a solution are helping to turn us into a nation of pessimists, people like the woman interviewed in the Post article:

"You keep looking and looking for someone to teach you, to attach yourself to. The ones you think could be mentors don't want you under their wing, they want you under their thumb. When you don't find one, it causes frustration and anger."

Hurricanes that won't follow predicted paths, diseases without cures, proteges without mentors. We are, we are told, entitled to better than that. And yet what can we do: sue nature for malpractice?

In one of Robert Frost's poems a hired man dies of what the current usage might describe as an occupationally related injury syndrome. His life ebbed away while those around watched. And then: "they not being the one dead, returned to their affairs."

That may seem brutal to us who live in a time when we are expected to trot through three official stages of grief without any short-cuts to the alleged fourth, acceptance. But to those of another era, forced to live without the benefit of psycho-babble, feeling angry and frustrated over a lack of mentor might have seemed slightly strange as well. Between these two poles our culture has travelled in a relatively short time, leaving us with all the trappings of perception, analysis and comprehension, but still, somehow, perplexed, angry, frustrated, ignorant and alone — because we don't know all the answers but think, by right, that we should. —SAM SMITH

Weather Report. . .

measures help protect them against private job-bias suits.

Said John Stafford, president and chief executive officer of Pillsbury, "It has become clear to us that an aggressive affirmative action program makes a lot of sense. So if the executive order is issued, it wouldn't affect us."

Meanwhile, *Fortune* magazine quotes an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission study as saying black women have progressed faster than white women in building their numbers as officials and managers, and are growing in the professional category as well. Black men, however, are barely holding their own.

Child care & development

Two San Francisco Bay area cities now require major office developments to provide child care or to pay into a city-wide child-care fund. The cities may be the first in the nation to insist on child-care in new developments.

The better-known San Francisco measure was signed into law on September 6th. It requires developers who build new or refurbished office space of 50,000 square feet or more to construct a 3000-square-foot child-care center, to be run by non-profit operators. Developers who don't choose that path may instead pay a one-time contribution of $1 for every square foot over 50,000 into an affordable child care fund.

The city of Concord, 25 miles to the east of San Francisco, levies a fee of ½ percent of the total valuation of the development.

San Francisco's law doesn't affect its towering downtown buildings—those buildings will be covered by the city's "Downtown Plan" due to be approved shortly. An identical child-care measure has been included in that plan.

While many child-care experts wax enthusiastic about the bill, they admit it won't completely solve the day-care shortage. Ken Jaffe, executive director

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of the International Child Care Resource Center said, "Paying into a child care fund will help in many ways, but the fund is less than what it would cost to develop new child care. If the building is 100 thousand square feet, paying (the fee) once wouldn't pay the costs of child care. It'll help for a year."

Pollution catch-22

America's tough pollution and worker-safety laws are being blamed for worsening the environment around the world. Cornell University professor Duane Chapman says stringent standards have driven US production costs up, increasing demand for cheaper products from developing countries. But the manufacturing boom in countries with fewer environmental safeguards has caused a worldwide upsurge in toxic waste far greater than the cutbacks achieved in the US. Chapman wants the developing countries to join in an international agreement to raise their environmental standards. Otherwise, he says, their exports should be subjected to high tariffs by the world's industrialized nations.

Testing continues

With two nuclear explosions at the Nevada test site last month, the Reagan administration has stepped up its nuclear testing program, even as a Soviet testing halt continues.

SANE reports that the United States conducted two tests, code-named "Mill Yard" and "Diamond Beech" on October 9th. This brings to four the number of U.S. tests since the Soviet moratorium went into effect last August 6th.

Idea Mill. . .

Fellowship program to give college student leaders 4-6 weeks in Washington.

Lowenstein Fellows will intern at congressional offices and participate in a variety of policy seminars, and nuts and bolts organizing programs designed to improve their personal and organizational skills.

Applications for the January 3–31 program must be postmarked by November 22nd, 1985; Fellows for the winter program will be chosen by December 6th, 1985.

Application for the July program must be postmarked by November 22nd, 1985; Fellows for the summer program will be chosen by May 15th, 1986.

Travel expenses and a weekly stipend for living expenses in Washington will be provided to all those accepted into the Fellowship program. Info: Bill Morton or Sara Grider (202–638–6447).

Thanks to SANE for some of the material in this column.

Mid-East. . .

dim recruited by the Israeli right will increasingly be pitted against young, frustrated Palestinians recruited by Palestinian extremists. As violence increases, and the Israelis and Palestinians age, more and more of those who espouse moderation will disappear from the scene through emigration or old age.

There may, in fact, be only a limited amount of time left for advocates of peaceful negotiations before their base of support in both communities becomes completely eroded. The United States and other world powers with an interest in promoting peace should realize that the window of opportunity for these negotiations is growing ever narrower. If some measures are not taken soon to bring about direct talks between Israel and the Palestinian community, there may be no one left on either side interested in talking.

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Snoops. . .

"This whole thing has a strong element of fascism," he charges. "The Thought Police from 1984 are here. They're just a year late."

"As far as their effect on me," Zinn says, "I don't care. I have tenure. But for untenured faculty it is a real threat, and creates an atmosphere of fear in the classroom."

"And what really concerns me is the impact this could have on the students. With people monitoring what I say and what the students say, it could have a very chilling effect in the classroom."

But "we want to expand academic balance, not restrict it," counters AIA's Csorba. "The classroom is an open forum, and students have a right to spea

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out and question their professors. That's all we're doing."

"If [AIA's critics] are really for free speech and academic freedom," he asks, "then why are they against us? These people are the ones engaged in their own form of thought-policing. We like to think of ourselves as a public service for students."

But the United States Student Association, the largest student organization in the country, says the group is more like a "public menace."

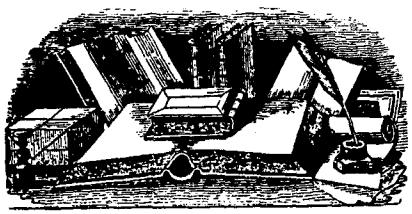
"USSA has very strong concerns about the purpose behind a campaign of this type," says spokeswoman Kathy Ozer. "We would not encourage any of our members to get involved with it, especially on the grounds that it is promoting or encouraging student rights."

Critics also question how objectively students, with pre-formed opinions and grades at stake, will review their professors.

"In most cases there is a grade on the line," Csorba admits, "and at some universities the students may be associated with campus groups. But we really don't care if a student has an issue over grades, or whatever. We just want to know what the professor is saying, not settle personal grievances."

"Of course," says Zinn, "why worry about that when the group is way out in right field anyway?"

"In fact," he adds, "they're way beyond the foul line." —CPS



BOOKS

Chris Robinson

1986 Defense Budget by William W. Kaufmann, Brookings Institution, 1985, Washington, 59 pages. Now, don't be put off by that title. Kaufmann has actually written a very readable analysis of the Pentagon's military strategy—or lack of one. Fortunately, he doesn't discuss the line-by-line budget. Rather, Kaufmann takes a close look at the Pentagon's arguments justifying their dollar request. In most cases, he finds their reasoning faulty, and in some it is nonexistent. By clarifying the requirements of the current military strategy, Kaufmann is able to propose a $78 billion savings. If he had questioned their strategy, it would probably double that amount. Send $6.95/copy to Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Disarmer's Handbook of Military Technology and Organization by Andrew Wilson, Penguin, 1983, New york City, 318 pages. Wilson includes everything you need to know about weapons and war. He collected the data while still an insider, so buy this book for its detailed briefings on military equipment and organization. When you read the sections on the history, psychology, and theory of war, however, you will see why Wilson became a pacifist. Send $5.95/copy to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

KAL Flight 007: The Hidden Story by Oliver Clubb, Permanent Press, 1985, Sag Harbor, 174 pages. Acting as detective, Clubb investigates one of the major crimes of the 20th Century: the death of all 269 Korean Airline passengers in September 1983. At the time, Reagan said the Russians did it, so we all thought there must be something more to the story. Now Clubb has taken apart everyone's alibi, explained the conspiracy, and placed the blame for this mass murder at the feet of U.S. officials. Send $16.95/copy to Permanent Press, Noyac Road, Sag Harbor, NY 11963.

Peace Catalog edited by Duane Sweeney, Press for Peace, 1984, Seattle, 288 pages plus a 75-page directory of 1,000 peace organizations. Relief of despair through personal empowerment, first used in a group-setting by the women's movement, is adapted by Duane Sweeney for use by the peace movement. The key to organizing people is to confront their individual fears, thereby freeing each person for action. This catalog is practical, listing specific tactics for different social gro ips. From businessmen to second graders, empowerment through individual action is necessary for personal fulfillment and for ending the nuclear arms race. Send $16.45/copy to Press for Peace, 5621 NW Seaview Avenue, Seattle, WA 98107.

Chris Robinson is editor of RECON, *a quarterly newsletter which keeps its eye on the Pentagon.*

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EUGENE McCARTHY

How not to fire someone

Margaret Heckler has been removed from her cabinet position as Secretary of Health and Human Services. The President was master of ceremonies of her leave-taking, to which, according to the press, she agreed after fighting back tears. The President said that it was malicious gossip that he was getting rid of her because she was incompetent or insufficiently conservative.

In other words, he had no fault with hr philosophy relative to health and human services and he thought that she was competent.

A competent director of that department is hard to come by. In the past, secretaries have resigned asserting that in their own judgment they were not competent to run the department. This statement would usually be followed by the assertion or implication that they believed no one could run it.

Abe Ribicoff resigned more or less on these grounds after being appointed to the office by President Kennedy. John Gardner resigned under the Johnson administration in near despair. He went on to build and direct Common Cause on the principle that every institution of government and politics could be operated well if the advice of Common Cause were heeded.

Of all the recent directors of the department, only Wilbur Cohen, who succeeded Gardner for the duration of the Johnson administration, carried out his duties with confidence and without apology — without resignation or dismissal.

If Margaret was as competent as the President said she was, she should have been kept on at any cost, rather than sent to Ireland with the defense that if she had not done well as secretary, she would not have been offered the Irish post.

This explanation is, I assume, supposed to make the Irish feel good about the appointment. Why? Because she is a good administrator?

There is no US-Irish policy or program that requires a good administrator, assuming Mrs. Heckler is one. Moreover, the Irish have never shown any great talent for administration, nor have they welcomed it especially when the administrators were appointed by the British government.

They have other standards for judging American ambassadors. John McShane they liked, because, as one Irishman said to me, "he sets a good table." Winston Guest, though a protestant, was accepted for his keeping ad running horses in the Irish races, and Bill Shannon because in the minds of the Irish, and in fact, he was a scholar.

That the administration could bungle a dismissal and transfer so badly is inexcusable, especially since it is given an almost daily example of how to get rid of a person by the Washington Redskins.

Joe Gibbs should have at least been called to the White House for consultation. He dismisses players himself, as Donald Regan should have done as the agent of the President. Gibbs does not put the burden on Jack Kent Cooke, the owner of the team. He does not say that a dismissed player is performing well, but that he has

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shortcomings either in individual play or as part of the team.

He says that it hurts him, even angers him, to have to separate players fro the team. He even allows players still on the team to express their opinion and attitude towards the dismissal, to say that they are "angered" or "surprised."

The coach's favorite expression in describing the condition and performance of his team is that it seems to be "out of sync." The special teams are judged to be "out of sync" and the passing game is said to be "out of sync." Coaches are even "out of sync" at times.

The Gipper could have fallen back on football vocabulary and handled the whole Heckler case simply by saying that the administration is "out of sync." He could have used the words of Joe Gibbs: "I'm not making moves just to make moves. . . .whether this will help us now, we'll wait and see."

He might also have introduced a football device that makes the transition easier and put Margaret on "injured reserves" or "waivers" to other departments, or even to the Democrats.

graffiti

The "Miami Vice" TV show has a budget of $1.5 million *an episode*. The budget of the Miami Police Department's vice squad: $1.2 million *a year*. Says a police spokesman: "We just patrol the city of Miami. . . we don't have national advertisers."

What happens if terrorists capture Americans again (there is always somebody who doesn't get the message) and we ask Egypt again for cooperation. Will the Egyptians say:

"We got the thugs off the ship the last time, removing the threat of death to the Americans on board. We negotiated them off the ship as well as we could, but of course you were disappointed with the result. Besides, you are the great experts on the handling of terrorism. Get them off yourself, the same way you got rid of them in Iran and Lebanon and the TWA plane. And lotsa luck."

—Henry Mitchell
Washington Post

Life is indeed precious and I believe the death penalty helps to affirm this fact —**Edward Koch**

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OUR BOOKSHELF

FLOTSAM & JETSAM: Our 15th anniversary issue. A book length collection of essays by editor Sam Smith. Topics cover a wide field inclduing trains, England, music, home computers, football, the humanities, pumping iron, Benjamin Franklin, corruption, ghostwriters, turning forty, Martin Luther King and words & meaning. If you have enjoyed the Review, we believe you will find this collection appealing. $2.00

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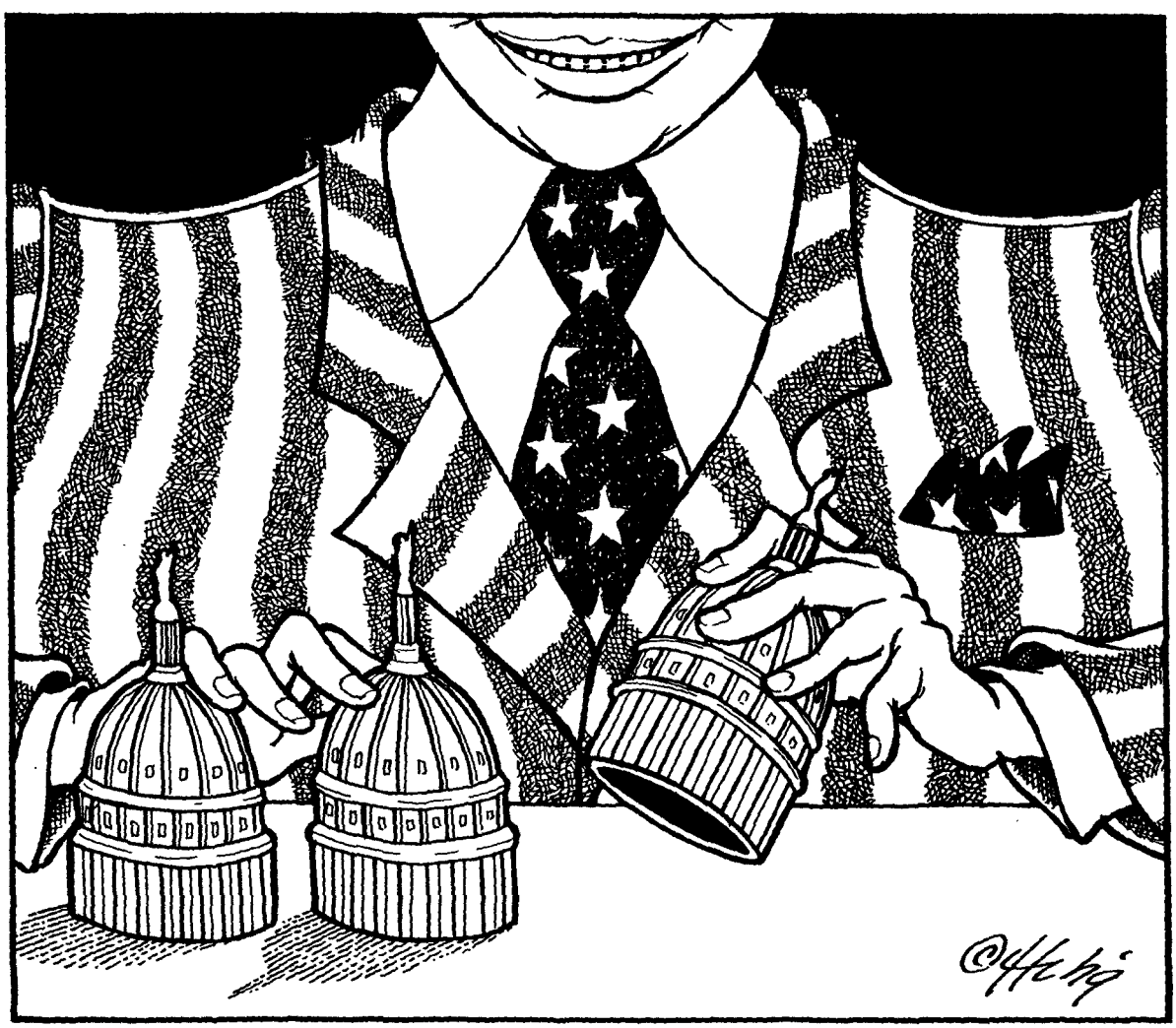

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DC BOOKSHELF

THE VIEW FROM RAPPAHANNOCK. By Eugene J. McCarthy. Piedmonth Virginia where the former Senator and regular contributor to the Review now parks his boots -- and writes about them -- is fine country to reflect in. His corner of it, Rappahannock County, is about as remote as you can get and still be near some place (Washington, DC). Close up to the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Rappahannock County has no towns of consequence, no industry, no important civic monuments and very few people. It's delightful country. McCarthy loves it, and readers will share his affection. Generation of British essayists have written to us about their dogs; junting wild mushrooms; the weather; the poetry of living in cranky old houses. McCarthy scratches his dog as they did; lives in one of their houses. His vignettes are a perfect meal. There aren't too many, they are perfectly seasoned, and an hour later you're hungry for more. $9.95.

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CAPTIVE CAPITAL

By Sam Smith

Could be an excellent gift for any friend just moving to town. Or any friend who has managed to live here for sometime without learning anything about Washington. . . . . .Sam Smith's is one of the few efforts I have seen that manages to deal with black people and white people without insulting either." — WILLIAM RASPBERRY, WASHINGTON POST

It is absolutely 'must' reading for all who are interested in this city's history, its political or private life — JAMES TINNEY, WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN

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